

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 194950
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY AF/S:JDAVIDOW:DH
APPROVED BY D:WCHRISTOPHER
AF/S:DKEOGH
AF.WCHARROP
S/S-DANDERSON

-----059017 170021Z /63

O 162340Z AUG 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 194950

EXDIS, BRIDGETOWN FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG ONLY

E.O. 11652: X-GDS-1

TAGS: RH, UK, PDEV

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH NKOMO

1. SUMMARY: IN AUGUST 15 MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY, ZAPU LEADER NKOMO EXPRESSED OPPOSITION TO ELEMENTS OF US-UK SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS DEALING WITH SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. NKOMO ALSO ARGUED THAT SETTLEMENT PLAN SHOULD NOT BE PRESENTED AS A JOINT ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL. HE EXPRESSED INTEREST IN, AND SOME SUSPICION ABOUT, THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND. THE SECRETARY NOTED THAT WE DO NOT SUPPORT AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT FOR RHODESIA. NO MAJOR
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 194950

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE US AND NKOMO ON THE TERMS OF THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION EMERGED. END SUMMARY.

2. SECRETARY VANCE MET WITH ZAPU LEADER JOSHUA NKOMO FOR ONE HOUR IN DEPT ON AUGUST 15. NKOMO WAS ACCOMPANIED BY DANIEL MADZIMBAMUTO (ANC/ZIMBABWE CHAIRMAN) AND CALIXTO NDLOVU (HIS NEW YORK REPRESENTATIVE). DEPUTY

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE PARTICIPATED WITH SECRETARY.

3. AFTER INITIAL PLEASANTRIES NKOMO NOTED THAT HE HAD REALIZED THAT THE SECRETARY WAS PLANNING TO MEET WITH

OWEN, BUT DID NOT EXPECT THAT FINAL PROPOSALS WOULD BE DEVELOPED. THE SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT THE PROPOSALS HAD INDEED BEEN WORKED OUT AND THAT THEY WOULD BE PRESENTED TO HIM SOON BY OWEN AND AMBASSADOR YOUNG WHEN THEY TRAVEL TO AFRICA. (LATER IN THE CONVERSATION NKOMO ASSERTED THAT 'WE HAVE OUR PLANS FOR OUR COUNTRY' AND WOULD MAKE THESE KNOWN TO YOUNG AND OWEN).

4. SECRETARY NOTED THAT AMBASSADOR YOUNG HAD INFORMED HIM OF HIS CONVERSATION WITH NKOMO IN GEORGETOWN ON AUGUST 9 AND HAD CONVEYED NKOMO'S CONCERN ABOUT THE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD AND BEYOND. THE SECRETARY AND MR. MOOSE OUTLINED OUR THINKING IN THIS REGARD: A UK-APPOINTED RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WOULD ASSUME CONTROL OVER THE LIBERATION ARMY AS WELL AS THE RESIDUAL REMAINS OF THE SMITH FORCES, I.E. MINUS SELOUS SCOUTS, RHODESIAN LIGHT INFANTRY, ETC. WITH THE SUPPORT OF A UN OR COMMONWEALTH FORCE THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WOULD MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER. THE PEACEKEEPING FORCE WOULD ASSIST IN
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 194950

THE CREATION OF A NEW ZIMBABWE ARMY BASED UPON THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

5. NKOMO WAS NEGATIVE ON ALMOST ALL OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY COUNTS. HE OPPOSED THE IDEA OF A UN OR OTHER INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCE. THE BRITISH, HE ASSERTED, WOULD ONLY WANT CONTINGENT FORCES FROM NATIONS THAT WOULD MOVE EVENTS IN THE DIRECTION THEY DESIRED. HE REFERRED TO THE ALLEGED PARTIALITY OF UN FORCES IN THE CONGO WHICH MAY HAVE CAUSED LUMUMBA'S FALL. HE ARGUED THAT THE DEPARTURE OF FOREIGN TROOPS AT THE TIME OF INDEPENDENCE OR "AT ONE MINUTE BEFORE MIDNIGHT" WOULD OPEN A DANGEROUS GAP.

6. NKOMO INSISTED THAT THE MAKE-UP OF THE SECURITY FORCES DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD MUST REFLECT THAT A WAR HAD BEEN FOUGHT. HE REJECTED THE IDEA THAT THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER SHOULD HAVE CONTROL OVER THE PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES AND THAT THE UN OR ANY OTHER BODY SHOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CREATION AND TRAINING OF THE NEW ZIMBABWE ARMY. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE HAD TOLD AMBASSADOR YOUNG THAT ELEMENTS OR INDIVIDUALS

WITHIN THE SMITH FORCES COULD BE INTEGRATED INTO THE LIBERATION ARMY BUT ASSERTED THAT HE HAD ENVISIONED THAT IN THE CONTEXT OF NO OUTSIDE PEACEKEEPING TROOPS BEING PRESENT.

7. WHEN ASKED HIS IDEA FOR A SUITABLE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS, HE PROPOSED A DEFENSE COUNCIL (WHICH, HE NOTED, WAS ORIGINALLY A BRITISH IDEA). THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER COULD PERHAPS OCCUPY THE CHAIR AND THE LIBERATION ARMY WOULD BE REPRESENTED. THE BRITISH COULD CONTROL ,THE FORCES AGAINST CHANGE," THAT IS THE SMITH ARMY, BUT THE LIBERATION ARMY ITSELF SHOULD HAVE CONTROL OVER THE "FORCES FOR CHANGE." THE DISPOSITION AND USE OF THE FORCES COULD BE DISCUSSED BY THE DEFENSE COUNCIL.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 194950

IF THE BRITISH NEEDED HELP TO MAINTAIN ORDER DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, THEY COULD TURN TO THE COUNCIL FOR ASSISTANCE.

8. NKOMO WAS INSISTENT THAT THE SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS NOT BE PRESENTED AS A JOINT ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN. HE SAID THAT HE KNOWS THAT OWEN WANTS "TO CLING TO THE UNITED STATES." HE UNDERSTANDS THIS, BUT THAT PRESENTATION OF THE PLAN AS A CO-INITIATIVE WOULD BE OPEN TO "MISINTERPRETATION FROM CERTAIN PEOPLE" ABOUT THE U.S. ROLE. "WE DO NOT WANT THE PLAN, IF IT GOES WRON'TO BE LABELLED AS A MANEUVER BY BRITAIN AND THE U.S." 'HE SECRETARY NOTED NKOMO'S CONCERNS AND AVERRED THAT WE HAD BEEN WORKING SHOULDER TO SHOULDER WITH THE BRITISH. NKOMO REPEATED THAT THE U.S. MUST NOT BE PRESENTED AS AN EQUAL TO THE BRITISH AND INDICATED THAT HE WOULD INTERPRET THE FACT THAT YOUNG IS "ONLY AN AMBASSADOR," AND THUS DOES NOT HAVE EQUAL RANK WITH OWEN,AS AN INDICATION OF U.S. JUNIORITY WHEN THE TWO TRAVEL TO AFRICA. THE SECRETARY STRESSED THAT WE ARE FULL SQUARE BEHIND THE BRITISH AND THAT WE WORKED OUT THE BASIC ELEMENTS TOGETHER.

9. THE SECRETARY ASKED NKOMO HOW LONG THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD SHOULD BE. NKOMO RESPONDED THAT THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE TIME WOULD BE THE BEST, BUT DOUBTED THAT THREE MONTHS WOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO ACCOMPLISH THE NECESSARY CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESSES (E.G. REGISTRATION, DELIMITATION). HE INDICATED THAT A SIX MONTH PERIOD WOULD BE REASONABLE.

10. THE SECRETARY ASSURED NKOMO THAT THE U.S. DOES NOT BACK AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. SUCH A DEVELOPMENT WOULD
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 194950

NOT BE REALISTIC NOR HAVE INTERNATIONAL OR U.S. SUPPORT.
NKOMO NOTED THAT OUR POSITION WAS ENCOURAGING.

11. NKOMO ASKED ABOUT THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND.
HE WANTED TO KNOW WHO WOULD CONTROL THE FUND'S MONEY.

THE SECRETARY EXPLAINED THAT THE FUND WOULD NOT BE ADMINISTERED BY THE ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT ITSELF, BUT RATHER BY AN OUTSIDE BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND AN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION SUCH AS THE WORLD BANK. THE FUND WOULD RESPOND TO SPECIFIC REQUESTS FOR PROJECT ASSISTANCE FROM THE ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT. THE CRITERIA FOR APPROVAL WOULD BE WHETHER THE PROPOSED PROJECTS WERE FEASIBLE OR NOT. NKOMO WAS OBVIOUSLY SUSPICIOUS BUT SAID THAT HE WOULD LOOK INTO THE MATTER. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT HE DOES NOT WANT TO "MORTGAGE, HIS COUNTRY. THE SECRETARY NOTED THAT THE INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT WILL BE UNDER NO OBLIGATION TO ACCEPT FOREIGN FUNDS. IN RESPONSE TO MADZIMBAMUTO'S QUESTION, MR. MOOSE RESPONDED THE AID WOULD BE IN THE FORM OF GRANT ASSISTANCE.

12. THE SECRETARY ASSURED NKOMO THAT WE WERE NOT PLANNING ANY SPECIAL CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS TO PROTECT MINORITY RIGHTS, RATHER OUR CONCERN IS WITH HUMAN RIGHTS. NKOMO AGREED AND NOTED THAT HE FELT THERE WERE NO REAL DIFFERENCES ON THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF THE CONSTITUTION. THE PROBLEMS, HE REPEATED, RELATE TO THE INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS AND THE STATUS OF FORCES DURING THE TRANSITION AND BEYOND. VANCE

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ARTS, WELFARE & WHEREABOUTS, CULTURAL PROPERTY, MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 16-Aug-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE194950
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: JDAVIDOW:DH
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770295-1259
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770855/aaaabuvj.tel
Line Count: 205
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 8bc1f759-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 10-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1583864
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH NKOMO
TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK
To: LONDON PRETORIA MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/8bc1f759-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009